THE FIFTH AVENUE CONFERENCE

Speeches by Charles Francis Adams, Jr.; Parke Godwin, Professor Summer and Others.

AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

Bristow and Tilden the Favorites for the Presidency.

The second day's session of the Fifth Avenue Con ference began yesterday, at ten 'A. M., and was very well attended. There were more persons present than on the previous day, and some thirty or forty of them were not delegates. They came merely as spectators, and remained throughout the proceedings, which occupied the forenoon and part of the afternoon. Among those who were watching these proceedings with ap-parent interest were Hon. Thurlow Woed, Ethan Allenorman B. Eaton and others. Beside those who put in an appearance on Monday afternoon many of the legates who had received invitations from the ilgners of the call came; but as no regular list of their tames was taken it was impossible to ascertain just how many of the 400 had come. Strange to say, not one of the five secretar es thought it worth while to llate and arrange such a list until after the meeting, when most of the visitors had gone away, and it was almost impossible to do so, when ur. Henry Armitt Brown, of Pennsylvania, underook the tack and failed. Of the cards handed him and put in his hat nearly all were names already published n the HERALD. The conference was a very enthusiistic one, and speakers were frequently interrupted by the prolonged plaudits of the admiring assembly. It may be said, on the whole, that the address, which is given fully below, was just what the members left they could safely indorse, and did so accordingly, being anxious to sign their names to the document. This, however, they did not do yesterday, nor is it at all signers of the original call managed things so as to preserve their individuality at the head of this new vement, Carl Schurz of course being foremost of them all. The address was flashed over the wires of the Associated Press yesterday by order of the conference, bearing the names appended below. Some of the members of the conference fondly imagined that they, too, would be permitted to place themselves in such goodly company; but the deed was done before they could do so, and they were even for one day more. Several speeches were made by able men, who enunciated ideas that were vigorous and pointed and in marked contrast to the address which, according to Dorman B. Eaton, was powerfully and glitteringly general. The speakers were Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Parke Godwin, Professor Sumner, Dorman B. Enton, Dr. Hopkins and others. Mr. Adams avowed himself for Secretary Bristow, and, failing in him, for Governor Tilden. Mr. Bristow was unquesionably the choice of the conference, which hailed Two resolutions were adopted, one of which appointed an executive committee and the other pledged the conference to civil service reform. The session was a very active one and did not terminate until after one

The conference was called to order at ten o'clock precisely by President Woolsey, who announced that the business before it was the hearing and consideration of the Standing Committee's repert. An address had been prepared by it and was in the hands of its

THE ADDRESS.

CARL SCHURZ STORE and, in clear accents, read the fol-

Avenue Hotel to the American people:—

Fellow Citizens—A conference of citizens, assembled in New York sincerely desiring to serve the best interests of the American people, beg leave to submit to your candid consideration the following appeal:—

A national election is approaching under circumstances of peculiar significance. Never before in our bistory has the public mind been so profoundly agitated by an apprenension of the dangers arising from the prevalence of corrupt tendencies and practices in our political life; and never has there been greater reason for it. We will not display here in detail the distressing catalogue of the disclosures which for several years have followed one another in rapid succession and seem to have left scarcely a single sphere of our political life untouched. The records of courts, of state Legislatures and of the national Congress speak with terrible plainness, and still they are adding to the scandalous exhibition. While such a state of things would under any circumstances appear most deplorable, it is peculiarly so at the present moment. We are about to celebrate the one hundredth birthday of our national existence. We have invited the nations of the earth on this great an inversary to visit our land and to witness the evidences Avenue Hotel to the American people:have invited the nations of the earth on this great aniversary to visit our land and to witness the evidences of our material progress, as well as the working and effects of that republicance government which a century ago our lathers is unded. Thus the most inspiring memories of our past history are rising up before us in a new glow of life, forcing upon us the comparison of what it now; and a join the we have challenged the other than the comparison of what it now; and a join the we have challenged the not certified mankind conjoint; with our own. There is not certified mankind conjoint; with our own. There is not be proud—an energy and thrift, a yower of thought and action, a progressive spriit, which is magnificence of result have outstripped all precedent and anticipation; a history abounding in illustrations of heroic patriotism, fortitude and wisdom's greater irecdom from foreign wars and revolutionary changes of government than most other nations can boast of; our Republic, but a century old and just issued from the only great civil conflict we have had to deplore, so strong in resources and organization that it stands in the forement rank of the great Powers of the earth. And ye, with all these splendid results on record, it cannot be denied that at no period during the class state of the oarth. And ye, with all these splendid results on record, it cannot be denied that at no period during the class stated with themselvan gridan people have been annunversary of the Deciaration of Independence, in so many respects to all American people be it said, every parriotic criticen feels the burning shame of the spectacle presented in the cancendary and this produced more of the American people be it said, every parriotic criticen feels the burning shame of the past, and fore the shocking cordence of the demoralization and corruption of the present; there the givening energies pronchede on the wisdom and purity of the tailors. According to the feel more shame of the propose of the propose of the propose of the p

mean impulses of selfshness and greed as a controlling motive of political action; the system which degrades the civil service to the level of a mere party agency, and treating the officer as the hired servant of the party and takes him for its support, stimulates corruption, and places it under party protection; the system which brings the organization of parties under the control of their most seinshly interested and therefore most active element—place holders and place hunters—thus tending to organize a sisnding army of political mercenaries to be paid out of the Treasury of the government, who, by organized action, endeavor to subjugate the will of the people to their ends through the cultivation of a tyrannical party spirit. Every student of our political history knows that since spoils system was inaugurated corruption has steadily grown from year to year, and so long as this system lasts, with all its seductions and demoralizing tendencies, corruption will continue to grow a in extent and power, for patriotism and true merit will more and more be crowded out of political life by unaccupatious selfishness. The war has only given a sudden stimulus to this tendency, but without the war it would have grown up and will not cease to grow as long as the hotbed of corruption, the spoils system lasts. The skill in corrupt practices acquired by one generation of spoilsmen will only be improved upon by the next. The result we know. We have alroady reaped so great a harvest of disaster and shame that we repeat it has now become the first duty of the American people to re-establish the moral character of the government by a thorough reform. What can we do toward this end in the impending national election? In this respect, fellow citizens, we consider it our duty to speak very plaintly. Never were the cause of good government and the honor of the American name more immediately dependent on the character, about and reputation of the men to be selected for the highest offices. (Applause). In view of the grave circumsta

party piatforms will not eatisty it; nother will mere fine professions on the part of candidates; not mere words are needed, but acts; not mere platforms, but men.

We therefore declare, and call upon all good citizens to join us, that at the coming Presidential election we shall support no candidate who in public position ever countenanced corrupt practices or combinations, or impeded their exposure and punishment, or opposed necessary measures of reform.

We shall support no candidate who, while possessing official influence and power, has failed to use his opportunities in exposing and correcting abuses coming within the reach of his observation, but for personal reasons and party ends his permitted them to fester on; for such men may be counted on, not to uncover and crush corruption, but for the party's sake merely to conceal it. We shall support no candidate, however compressions his position or brilliant his ability, in whom the imputess of the party manager have shown themselves predominant over those of reform, for he will be inclined to continue that landamental abuse—the employment of the povernment service as a machinery for personal or party ends. We shall support no candidate who, however favorably judged by his nearest friends, is not publicly known to possess those qualities of muid and character which the stern task of gendine reform requires; for the American people cannot now afford to risk the future of the Republic in experiments on merely supposed virtue or rumored ability to be trusted on the strength of private recommendation. (Applause.) In one word, at present no candidate should be held entitled to the support of partionic citizens of whom the question may fairty be asked, "Is he really the man to carry through a thoroughguing reform of the government?" Can he with certainty be depended upon to possess the moral courage and sturdy resolution to grapple with abuses which have acquired the strength of established custom, and to this end firmly to resist the pressure even of his party fr is affected a waterword of Feform; whose capacity and courage for the work are matters of record rather than promise; who will restore the simplicity, independence and rectitude of the early administrations, and whose life will be a guarantee of his fidelity and filness—a man at the mere sound of whose atme even the most disheartened will take new courage and all mankind will say:—"The Americans are indeed in carnest to restore the aucient purity of their government." (Appliance.)

will gay:—'The Americans are indeed in carnest to restore the ancient purity of their government.' (Appilause.)

Figlious Citizens—The undersigned, in addressing you, are not animated by the ambition to form or lead a new political party. Most of us have long been and still are warmly attached to their party associations. It would be most gratifying to us to see, by party action, candidates put forward whose character and record answer those requirements which present circumstances render imperative. We carnestly hop and treat it will be so. We shall gladly follow such a lead and make every effort in our power to render it successful. But while we are ready to accept any and every good result of party action, we affirm that the moral reform of our public concern is infinitely superior in importance to the interests of any political party. Glad to promote that reform through party action, we shall insist upon it at all events should party action fail. Experience teaches us that the habitual submission of good citizens to a choice of evils presented to them by party organizations is one of the most prolific causes of corruption in our politics. The acceptance by the people of the argument that one party may be bad and still entitled to the support of good men because the other party is still worse, will induce each to consider how bad it may safely be, it will strengthen in each the power of the most unscrupulous element, and subject the will of the people to the subtol tyranny of organization wielded by those who lite by pointics. (Appliause.) To break that ty-It will strengthen in each the power of the most unscrupulous element, and subject the will of the people to the subtle tyranny of organization wielded by those who live by pointies. (Applause.) To break that tyranny by a stern refusal to submit to such a choice of evits is the first beginning as the reform of our pointical life. Without this all other steps will prove unavailing We shall sincerely rejoice to see the necessity of independent action avoided. We carnestly hope that the efforts to this end being made by the friends of reform within parry lines will be crowned with success and that the just expectations of the people may not be doomed to disappointment. Indeed, we are confident if all those of our islow citizens who in their hearts agree with what we have said will enly take the courage openly to prociain their convictions and purpose such a manifestation alone would produce an effect sufficient to secure order of things. We, therefore, appeal to all good cutters who find their own sentiments expressed in this acidess (be they inside or outside of party lines), to organize in their respective districts and communicate with the Executive Committee appointed at this meeting, so that efficient co-operation may become possible. Let no effort be spared in bringing the influence of a particule public opinion to been upon those who in the customary way are soon to nominate the party candidates; and then, in any event, let us be ready to do what the best interests of the Republic demand.

Our generation has to open the second century of our national life, as the fathers opened the first. Theirs was the work of independence, ours is the work of reformation. The one is as vital now as the other was then. Now, as then, every true American must have the courage of his clay.

CAPIL SCHURZ, Missouri, Chairman, MARTIN BRIMMER, Massachusetts.

1. F. S. FOSTER, Connecuous.

PARKE GODWIN, New York.

JOHN W. HOYT, Wisconsin.

nine. The Chairman, Mr. Schurz, after the very able address presented by his committee, ought to know best the requirements necessary to the fulfilment of the principles therein declared.

At this point another motion was made by some one in the crowd, at the far end of the room, asking that the Committee on Resolutions and Address be empowered to act as an executive committee and add to their numbers, if necessary. Colonel Higginson, however, once more pressed his amendment.

Mr. Schurz once more combated the whole batch of motions which had been sprung on the conference at this time by saying that on the previous day he took occasion to my that the signers of the call had acted upon very insufficient information in extending invitations to gentlemen to attend the conference and take part in its deliberations, and therefore many able persons were not present who would not only have been ornaments to the conference but would have materially aided it in arriving at suitable conclusions. The conference was, therefore, very incomplete in magnitude, although its proportions and weight far exceeded his most sanguine expectations. He did not agree with the gontleman from Rhode Island, who seemed to be leve that numbers were requisite to give efficacy to the cause. Its virtue was inherent, and if there were only twelve gentlemen present the cause would be just as sirong and potent as a mass meeting. Mr. Schurz recommended that a committee of seven or nine be chosen to go into correspondence with persons all over the land to order that they might learn who would be able and best fitted to serve. He thought, after all, the wisest course would be to refer the resolution task to the committee for this purpose.

Colonel Hisansson remarked that he had, perhaps, been misunderstood by Senator Schurz. He wanted to show the efficacy of the cause, its depth as well as its breadth, and so be had urged his amendment to the original motion. The debate upon it continued tor some minutes longer, but was finally settled by Mr. Schurz,

with power to add to their number at least one from each State is the Union, as far as practicable, and that this committee be directed to use all proper means to carry out the purposes indirected in the address today adored, and also to character. If circumstances require it.

SPERCH OF CHARLES FIRANCE ADAMS, IR.

Having thus far accomplished the purposes of the contrence, and no urther business being immediately before it, the President suggested that some of the genticenes express their views on the topics at heart. Several persons shouled simultaneously the name of Charles Francis Adams, Jr., and at the request of the Chair that gentleman stepped to the side of the table, and said in a clear, ringing voice:—

What I have to say, Mr. Chairman, in support of the address which has been reported can be put in very few words. I shall very heartily indorac every word of it. In one very important respect this meeting is happily utilike a great many other conferences which it has been my fortune to attend during the last eight years. On previous occasions I had always noticed that those who attended zeemed, in the first place, to have somewhat vague ideas why they had come, and when at last they found that out, they, in the second place, seemed very much airaid of publicly avowing it. Now, in the present case the address sets torth very clearly why we are here and what we propose to do. It very properly, however, does so only in general terms. Speaking individually said for ourselves alone, I do not see any reason why we should not be more explicit than it is possible robe in any address intended to enhancte from us as a body, and I, therefore, propose to state what I and intriburation of the floating vote of the country—an independent—(applause)—and as such I want to do what I can intriburdant with which I desire to act—rapidly centering upon certain circumstances. Now I am here simply to do what I can to bring those the exploition and to the high ground and the country was the side of the holy of the country was a tried man, who has shown himself ready to grapple with diving issues, instead of raving over dead onesseeme man who hasn't degraded himself and his office by dirty jobs or by eager election cering in his own behalf. (Applause.) in fine, some man who, by acts and not words, merely has shown that he appreciates the broad distinction between public duty and party ducipline, and regards reform as a matter for works and not as a campaign cry. To secure the nomination of candidates of this type by others is what we want to try for in the first place, and, taking to get them in that way, then, as the address proposes, let us have the courage, if we are only a dozen, to nominate such a candidate ourselves. We can, by so doing, at any rate give ourselves and our countrymen a chance to cast a conscience vote. In this centennial year, for my part, Mr. Presideal, what I ask is that I may stand up and be counted. (Prolonged applause.)

MR. PARKE HOUNIN

was the next speaker, and he began by saying that he was no politician and disflained the politician's art. His own politics were something like those of St. Patrick, as described by Mark Twain, "Wherever you see a toad or a snake put your foot on it without asking whether he is a republican or a democrat." As Mr. Webster said, there was always room for improvement in the top. Partice could get up higher and grow better always. Mr. Godwin then, speaking of the condition of parties nowadays, said that he had hearn a United States Senator say these remarkable and sad words.—

"My own public life has been a very brief and insig-

wester and, there was anyway room for improvement, detect and then, in any event, let us be ready to did diete; and then, in any event, let us be ready to did diete; and then, in any event, let us be ready to did diete; and then, in any event, let us be ready to did diete; and then, in any event, let us be ready to did diete; and then, in any event, let us be ready to did diete; and then, in any event, let us be ready to did diete; and then, in any event, let us be ready to did diete; and then, in any event, let us be ready to did diete; and then, in any event, let us be ready to diete and the let us diverse and the let us diverse and the course of the diverse and the course of the diverse and the course of the diverse dieter. It was an event the course of the diverse dieter and the diverse and t

It does not do its duty; in fact, he would be glad to drive the nail into its collin.

EXENTER NIW OCCLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

EXELTION OF INDEPENDENCE.

The venerable gentleman remarked that he had never attended a political convention before in the whole course of his hife, and did not expect that he would have been asked to say anything. He could not say much at any rate. But as he was on his feet he would say that being perhaps the oldest man in the Conference he remembered the first utterance of the cry, "To the vectors belong the spoils." He felt humiliated to think that such a principle should have made so much progress up to this time. He had come to the Conserence because he expected to hear a new declaration of independence. He had heard the adverse and was greatly pleased with its cancilation. He was prepared to support them so far as in him lay power to do so, and he would do his best to forward this movement.

declaration of independence. He had heard the address and was greatly pleased with its chunciation. Ho was prepared to support them so far ax in him lay power to do so, and he would do his best to forward this movement.

Hos. Dorman B. Estoñ asked the attention of the Conference for a few moments to his explanation of a resolution be was about to offer. "I am," said he, "in some sense a federal office-holder, occupying the somewhat barren post of chairman to the Civil Service Commission. Still I am in entire accord with the spirit of the meeting." He then went on to say that he would crutese, in a measure, the action and address of the Conference. He said that it had formalated the necessity of reform in the day! service and had committed itself in its sermon, so to speak, to such reform; but if tor any elegymma undertook to hold and rule by sermons only they would find themselves in error. No body or people could be held or guided by glittering generalities. Mr. Eaton went on to show how, in 1872, the different conventions had treated the nation to 'just such wares saying all sorts of becautiful and high sounding things on benalf of civil service commission was appointed, and President Grant was the same man then as now. The commission had gone vigorously to work and the result of its labors was seen in the keeping out of office politicians and improper persons. What followed this remedial consequence of the commission's existence? Opposition everywhere. Exemises serve up arougd it and strove to impede its work, if not to kill it altogether. Even in the United States Senato its bitterest opponents were found, as shown by the rejection of Mr. Dana. The speaker had heard Congressmen attack it and knew of one who had badgered and bullied the Secretary of the Treasury to remove a poor lightbouse keeper down East, who had been in office servicely years, merely to secure by the appointment of this own man the votes of 100 miserable miscellaneous rareals such as "longshoremen and lisherman of the end of the amount of

tions, under which persons of ht character and hohesty shall have the opportunity of securing the piaces which favorities and partisanship, in the absence of such methods and regulations, are almost sure to cemmand, it being the intended effect of a true reform of the civil service to limit the excesses of partism and mercenary demination in our politics in the same degree that personal worth and independence will be honored and protected.

ence will be honored and protected.

On motion of Mr. Schurz the resolution was relerred to the committee, who retired to consider it. While they were absent President Woolsey called upon Dr. W. G. Summer, Protessor of Political Konomy in Yale College, for some romarks on the situation. Protessor Summer said that he had not expected to have to ray anything, but being on the floor fie would say that he thought a great deal over the subjects that had brought him as well as others to this conference. He had listence to and sympathized with the remarks of Mr. Dorman B. Katon in regard to the civil service, and he could not help feeling that the assemblage was dealing rather with symptoms than the disease and its causes; with consequences rather than what had led to them. It was easy to come together once in four years to protest in this sort of way, but if reform was to be effected at all it must be by striking at the root or origin of the disease complained of. In our subsidy legislation and tariff legislation we had the cause. The election of a proper and excellent President would leave great reforms to be brought about. Before the war we had to labor under the infliction of a sarpius revenue—[haughter]—and it did not matter a great deal what the hitle men in office squandered and stole, for the country was wealthy and prosperous and these misortunes were feit but slightly. Since the war it was different. The country was impoverished and the evils had grown. The evils had root in the Congressional districts, and men had been made legislators who worked all the evil. "We have," said he, "been fostering a self-perpetualing oligarchy of office-holders. If we want to cure the discase we must change the complexion of Congress lead. The maw eject to Congress to there by our own deeds and we are, to a great extent, responsible for their misdeds. We may preach honor to the House, but it will disregard our teachings and coultine to act upon its own principles. We have to educate the people and to disregard our teachings a

TENNESSEE REPUBLICANS.

PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANTS AND THEIR STANDING WITH THE VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE PARTY-BLACKS FOR MORTON, WHITES FOR BRISTOW.

Present indications do not point to a large attendance of delegates at the meeting of the State Republican will in all probability be manipulated by Memphis and Chattanooga and Knoxville and Nashville politicians. Such a division of sentiment with regard to Presiden-tial aspirants provails that it is hardly probable the Convention will instruct its delegates to vote for any particular candidate. To attempt to do so would have the effect to stir up the muddy waters of contention and demoralize the Convention. Whatever may be said regarding the wiping out of the color line, its gho is ever sure to put in an appearance when matters begin to approach a crisis. And this is inside the republican party, which in Tennessee has a larger representation of blacks than of whites. The negroes have already while the Caucasians are devising ways and means to

PASS ABOUND THE MEGRO
because of his lack of reason and judgment and general inability to shape the course of the party. The
blacks are rampant Mortonites, and would rather see
him in the Presidential chair than any other man that could be started.

was so strongly in favor of Morton. He responded:— "I am for Morton because he stood up for Pinchback and spoke in his defence when he needed a friend and advocate of his cause. I believe him to be the best friend the colored man has, and, had it not been for the argument that the r commendation of the Colored National Convention, which recently met at Nashville.

the argument that the r commendation of the Colored National Convention, which recently met at Nashville, would have endangered his prospects and have brought out the cry that he was the negro's candidate, I would have urged upon it the necessity of indorsing him as the choice of the Convention. But Colonel Bob Harlan, of Cincinnati, and other hig negroes urged that any action which might be taken looking to an unqualified indorsement of Morton would have peopardized his chances, especially with the Irish and Germans, who never have entertained any very high regard for the blacks. I would like to see Morton elected, because he would not only flaunt that traditional bloody shirt, but would play hell down South. He would see to it that the negro should be regarded as good as a white man, and in many respects a damned sight better."

"It thought your race had become tired of seeing Old Nick's lingers in the Southern mince pie, a condiment especially hard to digest by the negro stomach. Didn't Pinchback and H. M. Smith, of Georgis, tell you it was time the colored race was having a resting spell in this respect—were, in fact, tired of being made martyrs for the uses of the republican narty North?"

"Yes, I admit that they did. But neither Pinchback nor Smith is a criterion for the blacks. Both would have gone square over to the democracy had not Professor Longston come down here from Washington and driven them to the wail through his republican neither processes the second longston come down here from Washington and driven them to the wail through his republican neither processes the second longston come down here from Washington long it is suspect Pinchback made the speeches he did for their effect in Louissan. He knew the whites were in power there, and, in the event of his conciliating them, he would have the blacks anyhow, because he has colored blood coursing through his veins (and the negro will always go for his own blood relations) and he would have gone square order had have gone in the feature of the cour

us. The white office-holders are for Bristow, and will endeavor to manipulate the Convention in his interest. I believe

THEY ARE AFRAID OF RESTOW,
anyhow; fear their removal from the public pap, should they make any decided move against his nomination. I have no particular objection to Bristow, for he has a clean record with the negro; nor to Bristow, for he has a clean record with the negro; nor to Bristow, for he has a clean record with the negro; nor to Bristow, for he has a clean record with the negro; nor to Bristow and the state that the negro; nor to Bristow and this is the negro's view of the Presidential situation in Tennessee. The white republicans, with but very few exceptions, are for Bristow. A talk with leading white republicans convinces me that while the State Convention will indorse no polisical aspirant, the majority of the delegates sent to Cincinnati will be Bristow men. In several of the county conventions Bristow has been indorsed and their representatives instructed to vote for Bristow delegates to the Cincinnati Convention. It is asserted by the whites that Bristow would be in the South the nost formidable candidate that would be selected. "He would," say they, "get that large conservative vote which dishonest State governments have driven into the democratic party. They

BELIEVE HIM TO BE HONEST, and that single fact carries with it united weight. They believe he would have an honest administration, and that there will be more votes cast for honesty and good government than on mere party grounds.

Next to Bristow Hayes has the call, Hartranft next, and Hisme last. Blaine has had but lew supporters here because of the impression that he have too far east to command the full republican strength of the

Next to Bristow Hayes has the cell, Hartranft next, and Haine last. Blaine has had but lew supporters here because of the impression that he lives too far east to command the full republican strength of the Northwest and South. Next to Bristow Tennessee republicans regard Hayes as the strongest man in the field. There will be a scuffle in the Convention, next Wednesday, over the selection of delegates. The whites will play for two-thirds of the twelve delegates, and the prospects are favorable to them.

A letter from one of the Republican Executive Committee at New York has been received here advising republicans of Tennessee to use their influence in lavor of Bristow as the strongest candidate, and that in order to insure the success of the republican party the very boss man in it should be selected. If they did not do this the democrats would come into the White Heuse "a length ahead."

THE OPEN POLITICAL SEA.

ATTEMPTS TO REACH THE POLE IN POLITICS-AMONG THE CRUMBLING ICEBERGS-WHAT EDITORS THINK THEY HAVE FOUND-BRIS-TOW GAINING STRENGTH-UNORGANIZED POP-ULARITY-PRACTICAL DANGERS-DEMOCRATIC STRENGTH AND DEMOCRATIC DREAMS.

The endeavors of provincial journals to discover what lies beyond the great obstacles to ascertaining the what lies beyond the great obstacles to ascertaining rhe quality of the next administration are valuable in so much as they point out proper routes, though they do not reach a satisfactory goal. It is well to know whither men are drifting, for while editors are likely to have personal preferences and to be biased by them they, by virtue of their trade, do not follow them after they, by virtue of their trade, do not follow them after the masses of men fail in giving support. A single fragment of ice broken from the top of an ice moun-tain will sometimes stop in its descent if it is not fol-lowed and pushed by other disintegrated masses. So an editorial idea will generally stop in its career unless the people spring forward to encourage and propel it. This was the way with the Newton Booth idea, and measurably with that of Charles Francis Adams. At present newspapers are knocking about, hoping that soon the open sea of politics will be entered with tri-umph. Each navigator is anxious that his pet way of eaching it will prove to be the real one. It is noteworthy that every day newspaper thought becomes

The Bristow movement is constantly acquiring new strength. Both Mr. Halstead and Mr. Medili are ener-getically in favor of Bristow. There seems to be growing up around him a popular sentiment which is at once weaker and stronger than political power. People have ceased to discuss his merits—they acknowledge have ceased to discuss his merits—they acknowledge thom. The only question is, whether he will make an available political candidate. The St. Louis Republican, a paper which always contains ideas, and which is a democratic organ, comes forward with a popular project in regard to Bristow. It really claims him as an independent candidate for that number of democrats who will not likely support the regular democratic nomination if he can be put upon a ticket which is not republican. It says:—

momination if he can be put upon a ticket which is not republican. It says:—

"The wisdom of trusting Bristow's fortunes to the Cincinnati Convention, therefore, is questionable.

This Eristow Movement has become a very important, popular and patriotic exhibition. It ought, for the sake of the country, to be allowed to run in whatever direction it will. It means nothing ovil, and everything good. No ma ter, therefore, whether it runs in party grooves or a track of its own making, it aims at a most desirable result, and deserves to be not only encouraged, but carnestly aided. But it is in the hands of republicans alone. They must be held responsible for the issue. If a democrat were to esponse it, however honestly and disinterestedly, the act would impair its force. Those democrats who cannot suppress an outright admiration for the robust Secretary's conduct and character, and who might be withing to go bayond a datant and empty admiration, can, under existing circumstances, do nothing for him, and they can only wait and see what his republican friends will do with him and for him, it would be a most lamentable spectacle to see the Bristow movement stifled in the Cincinnati Convention through the indiscretion of the very regulations.

The Republican's administration rival, the Su Loui Globe-Democrat, catches the idea that Bristow's

UNORGANIZED POPULARITY Mr. Schunz said that it was not found convenient to

while the strength of Conkling may be too much organized, the strength of Bristow is not organized at all, and his best practical availability has been weakened by the injudicious support of his friends, who have antagonized him against the ordinary party machinery and held him up as a kind of threat. This is a performance which is much safer in the columns of a newspaper or in the irresponsible proceedings of a club than in the prompt and decisive action of a convention. Neither Bristow nor Conkling seem likely at present to gain anything beyond their initial strength.

Meanwhile there are

PRACTICAL MEN

whose broad sense contrasts with the cynical, disheartening, fairy tales of Fifth Avenue Hotel tonociasts, and who never touch a subject without brightening it with hope and pointing it toward the pole. Among these there is none who steers more direct than ex-Congressman Roberts in the Utica Herald. He substan Bowles' idea that reform must not be promi

Bowles' idea that reform must not be promissory, but practical, and that it must go upon the statute books. He emphasizes the idea that the electoral votes should not be counted by a Vice President or by the House, but by the Supreme Court. In illustrating the dangers to which the present system is liable be says:—

In 1868, and again in 1872, President Grant had a majority so overwhelming that no partisan treachery could have defeated him. In 1873 the votes of Louisians and Arkansas were rejected without affecting the general result. But we are now approaching an election in which the strength of parties is more evenly divided. It may be that the result will depend upon the vote of a single State. All calculations agree that New York's electoral vote is likely to be decisive, whichever way it is cast. Suppose the republican candidate secures a small majority of the electoral vote. By refusing te

It is singular how the partisan press che dates for its opponents with greater assurance usus to designate its own. The Springfield &

DEMOCRATIC STRENGTH:

The character and issue of the canvass, indeed, are more and more plainly seen to hinge upon two doubts still to be resolved—whether the Cincinnati Convention has the wisdom to nominate a man who will restore the confidence of the country, whether the St. Louis Convention has the wisdom to nominate a man who will gain it.

It is becoming increasingly probable that St. Louis will develop the perception and prudence of its necessities. The nomination of Mr. Tilden would at once secure to his party a public confidence which in itself it has not been and would not be able to command. This, not merely because he is recognized as personally a sate man, but because he preteminantly represents the great conservative elements and interests cannot afford to allow the war settlements to de disturbed or threatened, and the country knows it. The nomination of Judze Davis would be a still more complete assurance against any folly of that sort. The old whig and republican, Abraham Lincoln's bosom friend and executor, could not possibly be utilized by republican orators and presses as a bugaboo. The people would laugh in their faces. The probability increases that one or the other of these mer will be the St. Louis nomines—in other words, that the democratic party sin't going to do anything that will scara the country and that the country isn't going to be scared.

always represent the democratic party. This ides comes from an exalted Jeffersonian and rather abstract view of democracy. Practical democracy soldom res izes ideal democracy. There are DEEAMS AND DREAMS, but there are also loaves and fishes. There are Cal-

but there are also loaves and fishes. There are Calhouns and Madisons, but there are also Tweeds and Fitzhughs. The Troy Times says:—

The democratic is the party of reform and good government; its leaders and those who assume to speak for it are tireless in declaring, but somehow it never takes a step forward in the acquisition of power without convicting itself of the basest dishonesty and disregarded moral and patriouc obligations. Every crime known to the calcular has been committed in its name, from high treason to petty larceny, without eliciting a remonstrance within its own pale of membership. The men controlling its action have never been known to shrink from the perpetration of any wrong in intrhering their own designs, and have again and again demonstrated the hypocrisy of their pretinsions; out still their organs maintain the sham with unparalleled impudence. The nomination of Barnum for Senator by the democrate in the Connecticut Legislature is only one of a long series of scandals for which the democratic party is responsible. BARNUM ELECTED UNITED STATES

Hon, William H. Barnum was to-day elected United States Senator in both houses of the Legislature. The

Senator Ferry, which ends in 1870.

BLAINE DELEGATES CHOSEN.

New Bropone, Mana, May 16, 1876.

The Republican Convention of the First district, held here to-day, nominated Robert T. Davis, of Fall River, and William T. Davis, of Plymouth, delegates to the Cincinnati Convention. Both are considered Blaine DELEGATES TO CINCINNATI Возток, Мазя., Мау 16, 1876.

The republicans of the Eighth district have elected Freeman Clarke and James Russell Lowell delegates to the Cincinnati Convention.

DEMOCRATIC VICTORY.

BALTIMORE, Md., May 16, 1876. At the municipal election in Cumberland, Allegheny county, yesterday, William A. Withers, democrat, was elected Mayor by one majority. The vote was:—Withers (dem.), 840; W. J. Reed (rep.), 839.

NEVADA FOR TILDEN.

A despatch from Virginia, Nev., says:—"The Demo-cratic State Convention selected delegates yesterday to Messra Eilis, Keily, Kancer, Keating, Pall and Dennis They go unpiedged. Tilden was the first choice and Thurman second. Strong anti-Chinese resolutions were adopted."

THE A. T. STEWART MANSION.

It is supposed that Mrs. A. T. Stewart is about to leave her present marble mansion and return to the late residence of Mr. Stewart, at the corner of Thirty. late residence of Mr. Stewart, at the corner of Thirtyfourth street and Fifth avenue, directly oppeants. Yesterday Mr. G. G. Haven, who has long resided at Mr.
Stewart's old residence, was bueily engaged in moving
his furniture to his new residence on Madison avenue.
He says that he had two more years' lease to ran, but
was paid a certain amount to give up the sease before
its expiration. He declines to say whether Mrs.
Stewart is going to live in her old residence, as he says
the matter is a private one between Mrs. Stewart and
Judge Hilton. He is satisfied, however, with the
arrangements he has made. Judge Hilton declines to
say what Mrs. Stewart's plans are, nor will he say
whether he-sa going to occupy Mr. Stewart's late mansion in case Mrs. Stewart should decide to move to her
old residence.

THE COOPER UNION SCHOOLS.

The trustees of the Cooper Union aunounce the programme for Commencement week, which will be the last week in May. On Monday evening, May 29, the seventeenth annual reception of the Woman's Art Department will be held and on the following evening the Male Art Department will have its reception. Wednesday evening will be devoted to the Commencement extensives, which will be held in the large hall, and at which five of the students will graduate.

THE LAW SCHOOLS.

The Commencement exercises of Columbia College and the University Law schools will take place at the Academy of Music this evening. Addresses will be de livered by Protessor Theodore W. Dwight and Mr. Bradford Prince.

WELL CURED TIMBER.

There is at present in port a vessel called the Orio built by George Reynes in Portamouth, N. H., in 1852
She has been surveyed by the underwriters and the
Bureau Veritas, and not an ounce of rotten wood
could be found in her. Her preservation is due to her
being built of oak and pitch pine, which preserve each
other, while two kinds of oak in coulant ferment and
burn. She is now loading in Sutton's line for San
Francisco.